619 /101/ chain. This feeling has its price. It is not unimportant that old Makhzen /makhzan/ protocol classes all these tribes, or at least those with which it is familiar, as "people of the Dir" [443] (Diyyâra). But observation of a market such as Imintanout orients 619 the research differently. The principal bulk of the exchanges is 438 made less between the two terms of the plain-mountain pair than 439 between the plain-mountain pair and the great South on the one side, Marrakech on the other (1).

[114] 1. That comes out in the evidence of the inquiry conducted on the spot, in the spring of 1952, by MM. Adam, Trystram, Granai, and several other researchers.

Imintanout is the relay toward the Haouz in a system in which 464 Goulimine is the relay toward Mauritania. Besides, like the Sons, 166 the Atlas is a great provider of seasonal or permanent manual 167 labor. A mass of wages and savings irrigates the country. The amplitude of this movement extends toward the N. up to the large towns of the coast. It goes far beyond the simple solidarities of Dir. It enlarges the economic and human cadre up to limits which, today at least, go beyond Morocco and even the Métropole.

121 The relation of the plain and the mountain is thus irreducible 619 to a simplistic dialogue. One divines a thousand connections that bind the partners, not solely between them, but the two of them to a world singularly larger than the picturesque isolation of the high cantons might make one presume. By degrees, it is the whole external articulation of a seemingly closed system that one is led to 174 examine. Now, beyond some historical indications, in part conjectural, we have at our disposal for such an examination only extrapolations from the present. The method is risky. Two precise elements nevertheless at the very least authorize the investigation. They are none other than those of the daily food: and, because of that, concrete and, in a certain measure, durable.

/101 cont./

Among the economic determinants that make the mountain depend on the plain, let us mention in the very first place salt (2).

2. The salt route is as important for the montagnards as, on an entirely different scale, that of spices was for the medieval Occident: at bottom a question of cuisine!

In nourishment based on flat cakes and porridge, the importance of condiments is considerable. It is not exaggerating to see in this, much more than in the cereals, the most imperious servitude of the montagnard with regard to the outside. By food, in fact, the whole balance of family life is affected: potent motive, although originating from obscure causes toward which observation is too rarely inclined. The Seksawa mountain is destitute of salt. Even today it is seen in huge /102/ whitish or pink piles at the souq /sook/ of Imintanout. It comes from the Idaw Isaren, in H'šh'a, and from the far-away lagoons of the Inzzūyma, called by us "Lac Zima." Two qualities, one of which, very bitter to the taste, is naturally preferred by the montagnards for their animals and themselves. If therefore, classical method in the old Moroccan chronicles, the power of the plain blockades the Seksawa, or hems them in at the border markets, it is the salt route that it cuts for them, even more harshly than that of barley (1).

1. An example, dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century, in Justinard, La Rihla du Marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the Marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, pp. 37 sq.

In fact, the high valleys devote to cereal cultivation a portion that astonishes us, because it involves what would appear, in a strict economy, as a waste of land and water, and especially of labor. But they gain from it what we might call a flywheel /Fr. volant/ of security. Cereal cultivation with great expense, with great feelings: one will see all that such feelings can have to be

/16 cont./

133 491 [492] more than 3,000 meters of altitude with their mules, difficult roads that, in addition, are enlivened by the passage of the women, children, and flocks.

[233] [438] The transhumance of the sheep and goats, the exchange of the walnuts, wool, and almonds of the high valleys for the grain, tea, sugar, and manufactured objects from the souks /sooks/ of the Dir maintain the continuity of these relations. The activity observed on these crests during the days of spring and summer is enough to make one understand the importance of the bonds that unite plain and mountain.

In vain does the internal partitioning of the valleys, which the successive tiers of the Atlas cut up into separate basins and seal up by gorges, isolate the villages one from another. In spite of the reciprocal hostility of the Berbère /Berber/ cantons on the same route of passage, one sees alliances established at great distances, from the North to the South, in the direction followed by the transverse routes of the mountains. The small states of the summits are associated with the villages of the last slopes or of the plain in the same way.

361 628 [487] [438] On the other hand, relations are difficult between villages established at the same altitude in the parallel valleys, and only goat paths permit passing from one to the other; besides, since economic exchanges between the neighboring populations who live under identical conditions are of no interest, one understands that the political horizon of the small mountain states, so extended toward the North or toward the South, in the direction of the plain of Marrakech or the interior plain of the Sous, is, on the other hand, toward the East or toward the West limited for each of them to the closest villages.

491 VIII. The mountain massifs. -- The role of these great routes of passage that cross the two chains is not only /17/ to facilitate the moving of people and economic activity. They [184] cut the Atlas and Anti-Atlas into separate massifs, inside which the material and social life of the tribes takes on peculiar forms, which give each of them a true originality and explain the

133 /20 cont./
181 more easily, and it is rather through their commercial clever-
182 ness that the Chleuhs /Shluh/ of the central Anti-Atlas have acquired, for long centuries, their best reputation in all of Morocco.

133 On the other hand, in the mountains of the west nature
361 seems to favor the existence of a group of more energetic and more warlike tribes. The massif of the Jebel Kest stops on its western slopes the rains coming from the Ocean, and from its flanks flow permanent rivers, whose clear waters reach the sea. More to the south the great cirque of the Ammeln and of the Ida ou Semlal, dominated by the isolated peak of the Adrar Meqqorn, ensures an inaccessible territory for its inhabitants. Finally, deep gorges in a broken-up land, summits with strange shapes, like the Adad /21/ Medni, serve as refuge for the strong tribes of the Ida Oultit, who, in the presence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ master of the plain, maintain the long tradition of the mountain Berbère /Berber/ independence.

133 IX. The sea. -- In their mountain territories as well as in
[182] the irrigated plains the Berbères /Berbers/ of the Sous bend all their efforts toward improving their lands, so their activity is not drawn to the outside adventures that the sea could have offered to a race more enterprising and less absorbed in the conquest of the soil. It is true that the south coast of Morocco from Mogador to the mouth of the Noun /Nun/ is not very favorable for the development of local navigation. In winter the swell of the Ocean
[501] beats with dangerous force against the cliffs and beaches. Several natural shelters, at Imswan, Cape Guir, Agadir, only allow fishermen to use light pirogues. Farther to the South the mouths of the Sous, of the wadis of Massat, of Aglou, of Ifni, and of the Noun are still more difficult and remain impassable except in summer months. So one sees sailors waiting for calm days in order to equip their boats and not straying from their little ports except with the greatest caution.

226 Fortunately, the fauna of the Ocean is found in prodigious
438 richness; a few hours suffice for capturing on the sand with

/21 cont./

226 primitive nets thousands of tuna and bonito, which are sold,
438 dried or cooked, at a great distance at the markets of the interior. But, in spite of the interest that the complementary re-
133 sources of fishing present for this poor country, the shores of the
361 Ocean remain nearly deserted. The scarcity of springs, insuffi-
[226] cient activity of the inhabitants, and the dangers of the shelters and beaches contribute toward making the shores of the Atlantic one of the most classic types of "côte de dispersion" /coast of dispersion/.

133 Moreover, the difficulties of access to the coast have most often sufficed to keep foreign navigators away. As in all the
361 other Atlantic regions of Morocco, the masters of the sea who
648 were trying to get a foothold on the continent encountered here, as a matter of fact, a double difficulty: first of all they had to conquer the perils of the bar /Fr. barre, bar, bore, helm/ and then the resistance of the tribes, whose habitat located in the interior escaped their direct reach. These circumstances explain
[439] at the same time the repulse of outside intervention /22/ and the feeble vitality of the small ports of the Ocean, whose role has been limited to small-scale fishing and the commercial traffic of a poor country, retired within itself, and which for a long time has asked the Occident only for arms in order to defend itself and thus to preserve its isolation better.

Thus no maritime Berbère /Berber/ civilization has ever been seen to rise on the banks of the Sous, since the autochthons have shown themselves incapable of leaving the shore in their too-fragile boats, any more than there developed lasting foreign activity that might have perceptibly modified the life of the
175 country. The Phoenician settlements founded by Hannon /Hanno/
177 in the fifth century before our era had only a fleeting life and disappeared without leaving any traces. In the time of Juba, the Fortunate Isles -- the Archipelago of the Canaries -- seem to have been the objective of the Roman fleets much more than the poor shelters of this coast of the Sous. Later the Arab sailors who frequented the shores of the Atlantic from Tangier to Senegal up to the thirteenth century do not appear to have given much atten-
000 tion to the south of Morocco. When at the end of the fourteenth century Jean de Bethancourt /Béthencourt/ took possession of the Canaries, where populations of Berbère /Berber/ or Libyc origin,